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ELECTION SERMON,

JAN. 2, 1878.

REV. JAMES L. HILL.

882

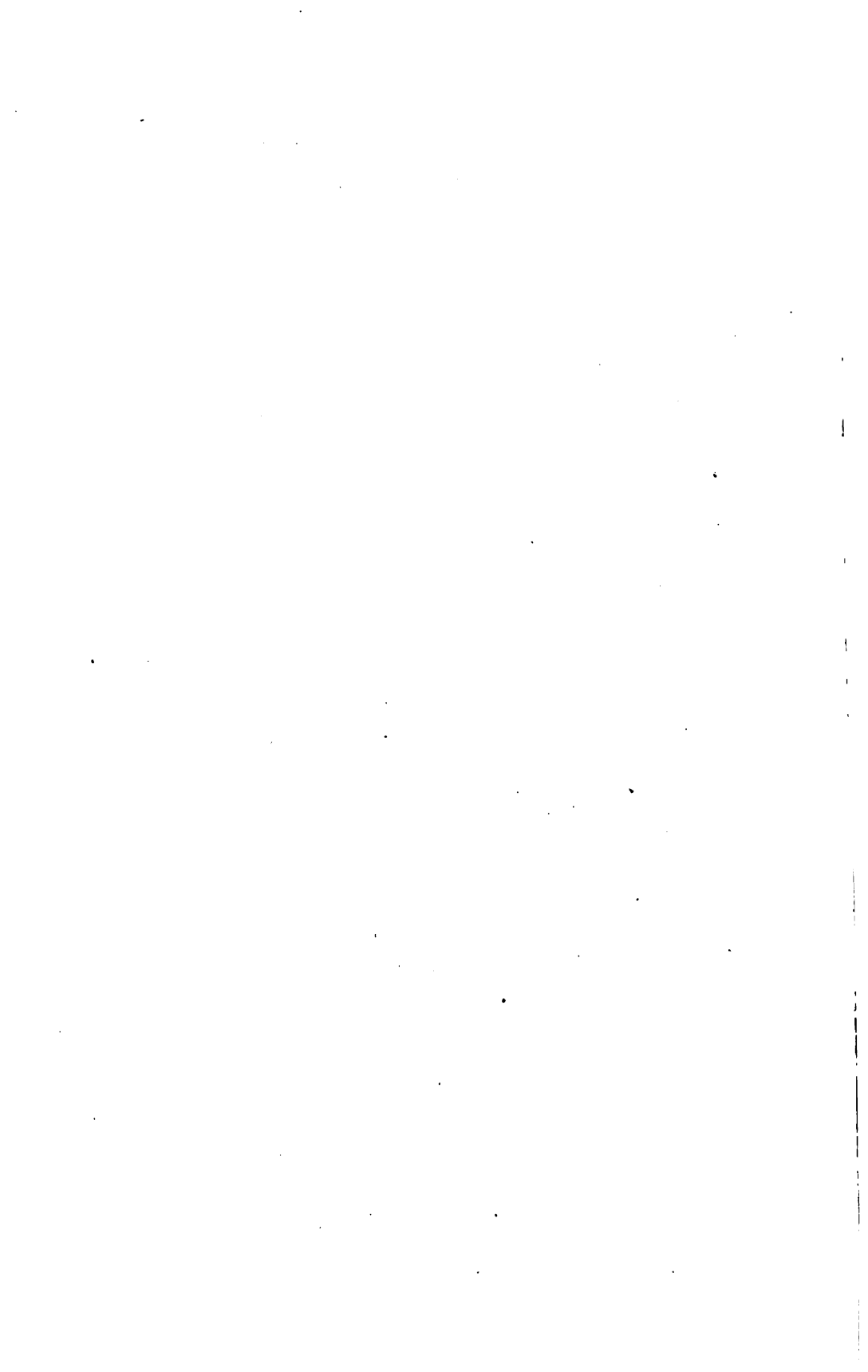
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With the kind regards of the Author,

James L. Hill.

North Church, Lynn.



The Growth of Government.

A

SERMON

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Executive and Legislative Departments

OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

AT THE

ANNUAL ELECTION,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1878.

BY JAMES L. HILL.

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Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 11, 1878.

Ordered, That a committee of three be appointed to present the thanks of the House to the Rev. James L. Hill of Lynn, for his able and eloquent sermon preached before the executive and legislative branches of the government on the second instant, and to request a copy of the same for publication.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 11, 1878.

Adopted, and Messrs. McGibbons of Lynn, Paige of Cambridge, and Sanford of Brockton, are appointed the committee.

GEO. A. MARDEN, *Clerk*.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BOSTON, Jan. 16, 1878.

DEAR SIR,—By a vote of the House of Representatives, passed Jan. 11, the undersigned were appointed a committee to express the thanks of the House to you for the able and eloquent sermon preached before the executive and legislative branches of the government on the second instant, and to request a copy of the same for publication.

It gives us great pleasure to communicate the above vote and request.

Your obedient servants,

SAM. S. MCGIBBONS,
BAALIS SANFORD, JR.,
LUCIUS R. PAIGE,

Committee.

[Rev. JAS. L. HILL.

LYNN, Jan. 24, 1878.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the sixteenth instant, in behalf of the House of Representatives, requesting for the press a copy of the sermon preached before the executive and legislative departments of the State Government upon the first Wednesday of this month. In response to your request so kindly expressed, I herewith place the sermon at your disposal. With sentiments of respect for the honorable body which you represent, and for yourselves personally,

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES L. HILL.

TO HON. SAM. S. MCGIBBONS, BAALIS SANFORD, JR., LUCIUS R. PAIGE,
Committee of House of Representatives.

SERMON.

"Other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors."

JOHN iv. 38.

WITH characteristic delicacy our Lord here alludes to the work which he himself has accomplished, by ascribing it simply to "others;" that is, to another agency than the disciples.¹ As they lift up their

¹ The word "men" does not occur in the literal text. "Who are the *others*? To regard Moses and the prophets as sowers, would derange and disjoint the whole saying. Christ is the sower." — *Stier*.

"Jesus was the laborer. While self-evident from the connection, . . . with self-evident renunciation is half concealed under the plural others." — *Meyer*.

"Christ is led to reflect on the relation in which *his* labors stand to those of the apostles. . . . It is best to understand the *others* as referring essentially to Christ *alone*, and to suppose that he adopts this form of expression merely in reference to the proverb, v. 37. — *Tholuck*.

"By others here, he cannot mean the Old Testament prophets." — *Alford*. The plural is used to make the clauses of the text correspond with each other.

eyes to look upon a field white already to harvest, an incitement is given to men to enter into the labors of God. "He prepared and sowed the field," says Meyer: "they were called upon to do what was still further necessary, and to reap." Men are encouraged to work because of what God hath wrought. The Lord has sown, the disciples shall reap, and all shall rejoice together. Whether made manifest by revelation or in nature, or in the mysterious guidance of individuals and nations, man's work is to accept, interpret, and voice the works of God. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: it was the gift of God. And as such, this revelation of Himself has made neither advancement nor development; but, receiving the divinely completed work, men, on their part, having learned the simple alphabet of the Old Testament, and the briefly comprehended lesson of the New Testament, have stimulated and aided one another, by what they have discovered and thought and felt, to "think after Him the great thoughts of God." Interpretation is begun. One doctor comments on another doctor of the law. The law, being as it is the law of God, is fixed; but its exposition, being the work of the race universal, is enriched by the diversified and accumulated experiences and thoughts

of the growing ages.¹ The best commentary is literally forever being written.

Discoveries of truth never so rich have been made by our own generation; and "God hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word." The work of the Creator must in every realm condition the work of the creature. Man is not an inventor, but a discoverer only. All the needs of commerce had been anticipated from the foundations of the world. That mysterious element which holds the quivering needle to the distant pole has waited for its application to the construction of the mariner's compass since the heavens and the earth were finished. When, as a blessing to the seafaring, the Eddystone Lighthouse — that triumph of mechanics which determines the subsequent character of similar structures — was to be rebuilt, "On this occasion," writes John Smeaton in his famous Narrative, "the natural figure of a large, spreading oak presented itself to my imagination as a figure not ungraceful, and, at the same time, carrying the idea of greatest firmness and solidity."

¹ "Every generation enjoys the use of a vast hoard bequeathed to it by antiquity, and transmits that hoard, augmented by fresh acquisitions, to future ages. In these pursuits, therefore, the first speculators lie under great disadvantages, and, even when they fail, are entitled to praise." — MACAULAY'S *Essays* (Student's Ed.), vol. i., p. 207.

In the improvements as well of all instruments for the measurement of duration, man can aim only at an approximation to that accuracy in time which God has employed since the heavens were created, in the movements of the spheres. "I had noted," said Sir Henry Wotton, "that all art was in the truest perfection when it might be reduced to some natural principle; for what are the most judicious artisans but the mimics of nature?"

Passing now from material objects and their qualities to the consideration of the benevolent conduct of intelligent beings, still may we affirm, as we enter the political and moral realm, that ultimate principles, like the distinction between right and wrong, inhere in the nature of things. They are eternal, necessary truths. But how these principles may be applied to the practical relations of men, and become embodied in righteous government, is a matter of multifarious judgment, and must be learned through manifold ages by the experience of nations. We cannot at once incorporate divine principles into human laws. We perceive the principles, but cannot conceive the laws. The benevolent wisdom of God, men and generations of men must help one another to interpret and understand, and at length incorporate into the State. What

God would contribute to splendid achievements in government, is done. Man's work is by no means accomplished, but is advancing year by year, and from one generation to another; and I have thought it not altogether inappropriate to adopt as my theme of discourse

THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT.

The Infinite Mind, discerning all possible relations, at once forms the divine government and laws in accordance with absolute right. Although we should not say that God creates it, yet He impersonates the right, and makes revelation of it. Our intuitions declare his character to be holy, because it is wholly conformed to the right. When man is created, he is brought into the conscious presence of a law whose mandate he must recognize. The law is uncreated; but man is created with reference to it, and to its claims his nature, by its very constitution, makes response. Thus, before all written statutes, men are a law unto themselves. The law may be disregarded; but still there exists a distinction between what is reasonable and what is unreasonable,—between what is just and what is unjust. What a man wills to do

is not ultimate, but rather what in recognition of this law he ought to do. The will is capricious. It inclines to become tyrannous. It must be conformed to a superior standard. The will of one, simply considered, has no right to insist upon the submission of the will of any other.

There is a difference between yielding to an arbitrary will and consenting to a natural law. That it is possible to govern with the consent of the governed, implies the existence of a common principle to be observed by him who rules and by him who obeys. Tyrannies, whether they be of monarchies or of democracies, — for there be despots many that are not crowned monarchs, — must stand condemned at that bar where witnesses for the prosecution are as many as there are true-hearted men. Arbitrary methods and enactments, in one form of government or in another, meeting the universal protest of innate principle, shall feel the shock of an immortal energy.¹ The principle then to be recognized in government is not in the exclusive possession of a favored class, but is as universal as humanity. The gradual recognition of

¹ "Such is the force of liberal opinions when they have once taken root in the popular mind that, notwithstanding the ordeal to which they are exposed, and notwithstanding the punishments in-

the right of representation in government indicates that every man has a native sense of justice which another is only delegated, in the best manner, to express. The results of legislation, and in some measure through the publicity of debates the processes of legislation, must commend themselves to every man's conscience. Men, if enlightened and honest, not because they are rulers, but because they are men, may aid in the discovery and appliance of truth and justice. Their researches must be encouraged. All the elements of good that any time exist disseminated throughout society must be extracted, unified, and constantly organized into the structure of the government.¹ Only when con-

flicted on the advocates, it is found impossible to stifle them, and it is found impossible even to prevent their increase. . . . Every system must fall if it opposes the march of opinions, and gives shelter to maxims and institutions repugnant to the spirit of the age. In this sort of contest the ultimate result is never doubtful. The vigor of public opinion is unaffected by the laws of mortality. . . . It does not flourish to-day and decline to-morrow. This has always seemed to me a decisive proof of the natural and healthy march of English civilization." — BUCKLE'S *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i., pp. 357-8.

¹ "It was a remark of Burke, made in the British Parliament, in his celebrated reply to Fox on the subject of the French Revolution, 'that he who calls in the aid of an equal understanding doubles his own.' Men cannot act alone: every faculty of the mind is adapted to exert its peculiar power in society. All have something to ask, something to give, something to do." — *History of Democracy*: CAPEN. Vol. i., p. 3.

14 THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT.

centrated, embodied, and clothed with power, do these scattered and fragmentary forces yield their full strength to the promotion of the progress and welfare of the State.¹ The discoveries of truth at best will be gradual. The satellites of Mars patiently waited to be found. The planet Neptune was seen fifty years before it was discovered. It is the perturbation in the motion of Uranus that discloses another superior planet, and only more remote.

There are superior political principles yet to be found, to give completeness to our system, and to account for departures that are constantly being made from the prescribed path of our preconceived theories; and within the orbit of a lesser truth the attractive influence of a greater shall lead to its discovery. Neptune had been seen, and its position in the heavens marked down; but the astronomer had made up his mind that it was a fixed star, all unconscious that a world was to be added to the solar system. And, in the firmament of truth,

¹ "What the science of mechanics is to matter, party is to knowledge. The one leads to the improvement of material things, the other to the advancement of society. Party may be denominated the manifold form of moral power in action. Its elements are to be found in the principles of human nature. . . . It permanently aids in opening paths of truth. It has an onward and conservative power. — *Hist. of Democ.*, vol. i., p. 1.

the heavens are studded with gems, whose significance is still unappreciated, but whose real character shall yet be known; and not only shall the comprehension of one truth lead to the apprehension of another, but, also, many incidental truths shall still attend upon what shall yet be disclosed, like the attendance of Neptune's satellite upon the planet. There is a difference between seeing a thing and knowing it, and a truth cannot be fully known until its force is experienced, and that widely and by successive generations. Our sense of justice is one thing; our judgment is quite another. With reference to the Infinite Ruler, these terms may be used interchangeably. Not so with us. Between them occurs, sometimes, a fearful hiatus. Our intuitions are good, and our motives in government are good, but our judgment may be poor. To make judgment the transcription of justice is the progressive work of the ages. Judgment necessitates the data of experience. This is a growth. It involves an interminable series of well-considered efforts to adjust the parts of a community to the whole and the whole to the parts.¹ Society has

¹ As stated in its preamble, the Constitution of Massachusetts "is a Social Compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall

some common interests in opposition to the individuals composing it. The individual must yield something to the State; and yet it exists for the man, and not the man to aggrandize the State. In Plato's conception, a citizen differed from a slave only in this, that he had the State for his master. This is a Pagan idea, and not a Christian. In the Christian view, men are created alike, in the image of God: they have an independent value, and are equal. Nothing seems more elementary and evident. But in all rudimentary government the family was the unit. The patriarchy tended to become monarchy.

The subject was taught to recognize authority, a thing so desirable in itself, but suppressive in its influence and tendency. The irresponsible use of power ends in its abuse. This abuse rouses men from that inertia which must be recognized as a law in the movements in human history, as well as a law in the motion of bodies, and which induces a peculiar tendency to rest or to depart from

be governed by certain laws for the common good."—*Manual of General Court*, p. 39.

"All the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over their dominions was by compact derived from the people, and held of them for the common interest of the whole society."—*Constitution of New Jersey*.

the existing order of things only so far as exigencies may require. Extreme despotism gives rise to extreme views of personal liberty. It can almost be said that the first step toward freedom is a misstep or overstep on the part of its assailant. That a people becomes disenthralled by being enthralled. But *liberty* does not begin with a people's enjoyment of it. It antedates all the *forms* of its expression.

The spirit is given: a body is grown. The recognition has been gradual: the principle is eternal.

“Since neither now nor yesterday began

These thoughts, which have been ever, nor yet can

A man be found who their first entrance knew.”

The struggle of six centuries abroad, and our own conflict and progress for a century and a half, brought us to the declaration that men were free and equal. Now, it is very significant that, for the perfected expression of this doctrine, we must come forward with the march of the centuries; but to find the principles which men and generations of men have labored to embody, we must go backward to the very beginnings of constitutional government, only to find them assumed in the code of nature. “Whenever Roman jurisprudence, which has the

longest known history of any set of human institutions, attempts to conform itself to the code of nature," all men are considered equal. This, as shown by Maine in his *Ancient Law*, is with the Romans a strictly *legal* rule. With the French it becomes a *political* proposition. All men are equal in the sense of *ought* to be equal. And the maxim begins to express the sense of a great standing wrong suffered by mankind. A century ago the doctrine passed over to America. Says Maine, "The American lawyers of the time, and particularly those of Virginia, appear to have possessed a stock of knowledge, including much that could have been derived only from the legal literature of Continental Europe. A very few glances at the writings of Jefferson will show how strongly his mind was affected by the semi-judicial, semi-popular opinions which were fashionable in France; and we cannot doubt that it was sympathy with the peculiar ideas of the French jurists which led him, and the other Colonial lawyers who guided the course of events in America, to join the especially French assumption that all men are born equal, with the assumption more familiar to Englishmen that all men are born free, in the very first lines of the Declaration of Independence." These self-evident truths, gathered

from Roman, French, and English sources, but organized upon our shores, "gave an impulse to political movements in this country, were returned to their home in Great Britain and France endowed with vastly greater energy and enjoying much greater claims on general reception and respect: they have thoroughly leavened modern opinions, and promise to modify most deeply the constitution of societies and the politics of States." The principle expressed is a germ uncreated, eternal. It has steadily grown. Its roots, beginning early to spread, are firmly grounded in the past. Its development is historic. Therein is its value. Nothing has been improvised. Every part of our political inheritance has its own bitter price of conflict and sacrifice, and is hoary with history. Our fathers organized what no single nation nor any generation was sufficient to produce. Our Federal institutions have peculiar claims to our veneration for having been thus wrought out in the direct line of historic succession and experience.¹ "The principles and feelings," said

¹ "*Respecting your forefathers, you would have been taught to respect yourselves. . . . You began ill, because you began by despising every thing that belonged to you. You set up your trade without a capital. If the last generation of your country appeared without much lustre in your eyes, you might have passed them by, and derived your claims from a more early race of ancestors.*" — *Reflections on Revolution in France*: BURKE. Vol. iii., p. 278.

John Adams, "which produced the Revolution, ought to be traced back for two hundred years, and sought in the history of the country from the first plantations in America." "I have always laughed," said he again, "at the affectation of representing American Independence as a novel idea, as a modern discovery, as a late invention. The idea of it, as a possible thing, has been familiar to Americans from the first settlement of the country, and was as well understood by Governor Winthrop in 1675, as by Governor Samuel Adams when he told you that Independence had been the first wish of his heart for seven years."¹ Independence Hall, Faneuil Hall, this Old South Church, with its sacred associations, is not the CRADLE of liberty. The Declaration of Independence, as its name implies, is but the *declaration* of something that had already come to exist.² Liberty is fraught with a significance it

¹ *Works of JOHN ADAMS*, vol. ix., p. 596. "All great effects have remote and slowly-operating causes. To my view the New-England of 1775-76,—the movement of John Adams and his compeers for Independence, are to Winthrop's administration something like what the fruit is to the blossom." — PALFREY'S *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 266.

² "There is not an idea in it but was hackneyed in Congress for two years." — ADAMS'S *Works*, vol. ii., p. 514. "The truth is, the subject had long been familiar to the contemplation of all members of Congress." — JOHN ADAMS to *Mercy Warren*. "Otis was a flame of fire. . . . Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposi-

could not claim had it sprung up suddenly, one summer's day, like Jonah's gourd, as a matter of temporary protection. For its enjoyment men have labored. They have not *made* it, but they have made it to *grow*.

Transplanted shrubs and trees flourish best. The nursery is too strait for them. So liberty needed other soil and freer air. This continent, providentially unknown and unoccupied by settled inhabitants, was reserved, until, with the history of the world to guide them, and having learned the value of freedom by its loss, a disciplined people had been gradually prepared to institute here what the ground was pre-occupied against establishing there. "In view of the thick clouds that were gathering over their homes, Winthrop and his associates," says Palfrey, "conceived a project no less important than of laying on this side of the Atlantic a nation's foundations, which could be built upon as future circumstances would allow. They contemplated the possibility that the time was near at hand when all that was best of what they had left behind would follow them to these shores."

tion to the arbitrary claim of Great Britain: then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, namely in 1776, he grew up to Manhood and declared himself free." — ADAMS'S *Works*, vol. x., pp. 247-8.

The pilgrims to this continent were ideas as well as men. We are taught to make grateful recognition of what England conferred in the gift of her sons, but we are not so often reminded of our special indebtedness for the valuable home instruction which those sons received from "the mother of us all." The principles which produced revolution here would have resulted in revolution in *Old* England, had they not found expression in *New* England.¹ For against their progress nothing shall be able to stand. We trace their stages of growth through Magna Charta, Petition of Right, Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and the Federal Constitution. The present has never been

¹ Since this sermon was delivered, the writer, on reading Dr. J. P. Thompson's "The United States as a Nation," is glad to find himself re-enforced by such excellent authority. The Revolution was to preserve freedom, and not primarily to acquire it. "The Colonists renounced their allegiance to George III., not because he was a *king*, but because they had come to look upon him as a prince whose character was marked by every act that may define a tyrant, and therefore unfit to be the ruler of a free people. As Englishmen, and the sons of Englishmen, they were freeborn. To such a people national independence was a foregone conclusion, not indeed in their own original purpose, but in the logic of events." pp. 2, 3. "The English people owe to the American Revolution no small share in the conservation of their own local and popular freedom against the encroachments of the crown, and also in that wise and liberal policy that now retains English Colonies within the British Empire."—p. 49.

dissevered from the past. Every step of progress is conditioned upon some earlier step.¹ The exact form which the political development should assume has been unforeseen, for it has not been the result of speculation, but the consequent of experience. All those ideal constitutions which have been formed by philosophers in accordance with their theories, and without reference to history or experience, have ever been, as they ever must be, egregious failures.² Men cannot be *makers* of a constitution, but only *framers* of it. Our Federal constitution was not adopted until it was found, by the convention that assembled for the revision of the Articles of Confederation, that a new instrument was necessary to embody the new growth. The idea of abolishing the Confederation, and adopting in its place the

¹ "These humble but fearless adventurers . . . adopted the common law of England as the general basis of their jurisprudence, varying it, however, from time to time by municipal regulations better adapted to their situation, or conforming more exactly to their stern notions of the absolute authority and universality of the Mosaic institutions." — *Story on the Constitution*, vol. i., p. 30.

² "For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel, and let them have commission to exercise martial laws with some limitation. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as with men." — BACON: *Of Plantations. Essays.* (Boston Ed.) Pp. 355-6.

Locke's constitution for South Carolina is another illustration. "In framing constitutions for Carolina, Locke forgot that there can be no such thing as a creation of laws." — BANCROFT'S *History of the United States*. (Cent. Ed.) Vol. i., p. 494.

Constitution, was not at first the end contemplated by the States. Healthful life never comes forth from the old forms until enforced to do so for the sake of enlarged and continued growth.¹

Under the Constitution we have been testing its excellence and its strength. For scores of years, recurring in different forms, the question has been constantly arising, what is the true meaning of its very first line. Ought it to read, "We the people," or would it better read, "We the States"?² "When the two sections of the country were no longer arrayed in arms against each other," still, in the words of the peace-loving and sagacious Chief Magistrate of the nation in his recent message to Congress, "there was a wide-spread apprehension that the momentous results of our progress as a nation, marked by the recent amendments to the constitution, were in imminent jeopardy. But now the earnest purpose of good citizens generally to supplant the destructive

¹ "Pacavius sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon a better to place in their room; so did these choose to abide by the laws of England till they could be provided of better."—HUBBARD'S *History*, chap. 10, p. 62.

² While the *people* choose to maintain it as it is, while they are satisfied with it and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give, to the *State Legislatures* a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise?—WEBSTER'S *Reply to HAYNE*, Jan. 26, 1830. Works, vol. iii., p. 340.

force of the mutual animosities of races and of sectional hostility, and to unite their efforts to make permanent the pacification of the country is evident." What is called, at the Capitol in Washington, "the most important of all our national interests," is but the re-echo of that prophetic voice, uttered in the Capitol of Massachusetts and before your honorable body, the two branches of the Legislature, twelve years ago to-morrow, by His Excellency John A. Andrew, of proudly-cherished memory, who, with all the emphasis that came from five years of executive administration at the helm of this Ship of State in stormy and perilous times, declared, "There ought now *to be a vigorous prosecution of the peace*, just as vigorous as our recent prosecution of the war."¹ Those who, like our great War-Governor, were first in war, were first as well also in peace; for they went into the war — aye, and what is more, they *came out of the war* — on principle. *Such* men

¹ The words of Governor Andrew are as appropriate to-day as when they were spoken: "I am satisfied that with the support of a firm policy from the President, and with the help of conciliatory and generous disposition on the part of the North, the measures needed for permanent and universal welfare can surely be obtained. We ought to extend our hands with cordial good-will, demanding no attitude of humiliation from any, inflicting no acts of humiliation upon any. The offence of war has met its appropriate punishment at the hands of war." *Valedictory Address*, pp. 38 and 39: Senate Doc. No. 2, 1866.

are above party hostility and personal recrimination. Right, justice, reason, love, peace, are above party consideration; and while there is a God of peace, they shall not lack for a party, and that one an invincible. After what a strife, in what a union, and with what patient, anxious waiting, is it now being settled that it is not "we the States," but with its full and blessed meaning it is truly "we the people of the United States, in order to insure domestic tranquillity and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

I. In the light of what now has been suggested we may have disclosed to our view the substantial basis of Christian patriotism. If it were possible for a government to be at once made by a certain number of individuals, the object of our veneration would be, not the State, so much as the men who gave us the State. Patriotism would be perverted into love for the patriot, instead of being a patriot's love for his country. But if government is grown, we are brought first to the acknowledgment of the divine superintendence of that Providence who has supplied the conditions of growth; under whose laws and under whose care from age to age the growth pro-

ceeds so quietly, that the succession of generations is less marked than the annual growth of the forest-trees. And then we are taught to recognize the principle of growth, within the State itself, divinely implanted. As *possessed with life* we ought to foster the State, and think of it, and love it. It is not a thing. It is *being*.¹

It was not born at its full. Its growth is the substance of history. The incidents of that history which mark the stages of its growth are the orderings of God. In many of them the end proposed by man differed from the end contemplated by the Ruler of nations. The union that withstood the *British* was enforced by the encroachments of the *French*. The very union that was to throw off an oppressive yoke was effected in part by the instruments of oppression themselves, who sought to centralize all authority that it might become more directly subject to the absolute will of the king. While the principles incorporated into the Declaration of Independence were so largely drawn from the political and popular sentiments of the French people, it was the Divine guardianship that kept our institutions

¹ "There is a mystery . . . in the soul of state
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath or pen can give expression to."

TROILUS and CRESSIDA, Act III., sc. 3.

from the taint of the infidel notions at that time prevailing in France, and with which the mind of Jefferson was in notorious sympathy.¹ He who is Governor among the nations used Jefferson in effecting one revolution, but keeps us graciously from the pernicious effects of Jefferson's theory of the desirability of a rebellion every twenty years, with the idea that a rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical.² The aristocratic tendencies of the first two Presidents³ are divinely utilized in founding the Fed-

¹ The residence of Jefferson in Europe is one of the most curious portions of his life, less on account of what he did than of what he saw and thought, and deserves to be studied if we desire thoroughly to appreciate the part which Jefferson afterward played in his country at the head of the democratic party. It was in Paris that he learned to abhor the whole social organization of Europe; it was in Paris that he learned to hate the power both of the aristocracy and clergy." — *JEFFERSON and the American Democracy*, pp. 123-4. The men who effected the revolution were not all believers. . . . Prayers and public fasts continued to be resorted to whenever it was found desirable, by agitators or the state, to act powerfully on the minds of the people. — *Ibid*, p. 17.

² *Works of JEFFERSON*, vol. ii., p. 318. Honest republican governors should become so "mild in their punishment of rebellions as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government." — *Ibid*, p. 105. "No country should be so long without a rebellion." — *Ibid*, p. 331.

³ Such, for instance, as the Vice-President, John Adams, pompously going about, like a prince, in his carriage with six horses; Mrs. Washington, on her entrance into New York, receiving a salute of thirteen guns; the presidential palace, and the luxury and etiquette which gave it a resemblance to Versailles; the servants in livery, the guests in full dress, every body standing before the head of the state; and, to sum up

eral Government; but that One who is our Master, and by whose doctrine we all are brethren, could still reserve Jefferson "to root out every germ of centralization and monarchy, and to introduce into the working of the government the preponderating influence of democratic ideas."¹ The acquisition of good is

all, the ball at which Washington had sat upon a sofa resembling a throne, and that committee of senate which had gone so far as to wish to give the President the title of Highness and Protector. — JEFFERSON *and the American Democracy*, p. 179. Washington was himself, says Higginson, in favor of the words "High Mightiness," the words used to describe the Stadtholder of Holland; that state being then a republic. "Jefferson's administration was conducted on a system very different, in some respects, from those of Washington and Adams. His personal habits were very simple, and so were his views of government. Instead of going in a coach and six to the Capitol, as Washington had done, Jefferson rode thither on horseback on the day of his inauguration, dismounted, tied his horse to a post, and read his address. Afterwards he did not do even this, but sent a "message" to Congress by a secretary, as has been the practice ever since. He abolished the weekly levees, but on New Year's Day and the Fourth of July threw open his doors to the whole people. He would not have his birthday celebrated, as had been the previous custom; but concealed the day in order to prevent this." Washington wrote to John Jay (SPARKS'S *Life of Washington*, vol. ix., p. 187): "We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures best calculated for their own good without the intervention of a coercive power." "The glare of royalty and nobility during (Adams's) mission to England had made him believe their fascination a necessary ingredient in government." — *Works of JEFFERSON*, vol. ix., pp. 97 and 507.

¹ "Jefferson's accession to the Presidency in 1801 was represented by himself as a pacific revolution, as real as that of 1776; a revolution, not of form but of principle, which rescued the vessel of the state from the monarchical current into which it had been steered while the people slept, and brought it back to its natural current, — the republican and

not accidental. It is not the caprice of war or fortune: It points us to the Being under whose benevolent auspices this principle of selection graciously works.

Not a great political idea has existed, no policy or philosophy of government has prevailed as a power in the earth, but some vestige of it is now inwrought into the political fabric. So the historian Hume represents the national character of the English people to be "a union of all the excellent qualities possessed separately by different portions of the great human family." So the nature of Milton,¹ as pictured by Macaulay, "selected and drew to itself," and "combined in harmonious union," "whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which those finer elements were defiled." As the idea of beauty expressed in the Apollo Belvedere,

democratic current." — *JEFFERSON'S Works*, vol. ii., pp. 133, 135. "The contests of that day were contests of principle between the advocates of republican and those of kingly government." — *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 88. "It was my lot," wrote Jefferson in 1820, to the grandfather of the writer, — Hon. Mark Langdon Hill of Maine, — "to be charged with the duty of changing the course of the government from what we deemed a monarchical to its republican tack." — *Ibid.* p. 154.

¹ Milton did not strictly belong to any of the classes we have described. He was not a Puritan. He was not a Free-thinker. He was not a Royalist. In his character the noblest qualities of every party were combined in harmonious union. — *MACAULAY'S Essay on Milton*. (Student's Ed. Essays.) Vol. i., p. 259.

or in the Venus de Medici, is not taken from an individual, but the excellences and perfections found only in parts scattered here and there among the members of the human family, are rather, with a happy and congenial grouping, blended into one standard form, which is not ideal but a real transcription of the symmetry of man as he came from the hand of his Maker: thus appropriating all that deserves perpetuation, the State gathers from every source, and combines whatever exists dispersed in the world, of reason, justice, truth; organizes them into unity,¹ calls them to the occupation of power, and becomes a government, not *ideal* only, but a real incarnation in political and human relations of primitive divine principles, whose effect is to enable men to enter into sympathy with the thoughts and labors of God.

II. A practical inference, moreover, of considerable importance, derived from the truth that a

¹ "Our fabric is so constituted, one part bears so much on the other, the parts are so made for one another and for nothing else, that to introduce any foreign matter into it is to destroy it. This British Constitution has not been struck out at a heat by a set of presumptuous men like the assembly of pettifoggers run mad in Paris.

'Tis not the hasty product of a day,
But the well-ripened fruit of wise delay.'

It is the result of the thoughts of many minds in many ages."—
The Works of EDMUND BURKE. Vol. iii., p. 209.

State is grown and not made, may be found in the fact that growth proceeds quietly in times of peace. In its nature, growth is neither turbulent nor demonstrative. Indeed, so unostentatiously are its processes carried on as to escape the detection of all, except the most careful observer. The pages of history contain chiefly the annals of revolutions, but such principles are only contended for in war as have been grown in peace.¹ It is a rude and spiritless controversy when the parties to it do not know what it is about. The diary of a collegian may contain the date of his matriculation and of his graduation; but the significance of these is only relative to that process of discipline and that informing of the mind, over against the acquisition of which no date can be affixed, for what is valuable is slowly acquired and gradually manifested. So with the annals of a nation. Public sentiment determines the character of future events during those periods of unobtrusive growth which furnish fewest materials for the historian. The annalist

¹ "The period [before the revolution] abounded in new forms of virtue and greatness. Fidelity to principle pervaded the masses. In every hand was the Bible; every home was a house of prayer. Child of the Reformation, closely connected with the past centuries and with the greatest struggles of mankind, New England had been planted by enthusiasts who feared no sovereign but God."—BANCROFT'S *History of the United States*. (Centenary Ed.) Vol. iii., pp. 11, 98.

takes knowledge of popular opinion in the light of its *event*. The statesman has the more difficult task of dealing with a prevalent feeling with *reference* to its event. "But what do we mean by the American Revolution?" said John Adams. "Do we mean the American war? The revolution was effected before the war commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people, — a change in their religious sentiments, of their duties and obligations. This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people was the real American Revolution."¹ There is, then, the necessity of adopting a policy in times of peace as well as in times of war. It will not aim immediately at expression, but will first foster and develop those sentiments which determine all subsequent events.

When a law is to be given, and the people are nervously awaiting the appearance of the giver, it is something to be able to say, "I am not he, but there cometh *another*." When a measure on our part is prepared for adoption, it requires a share of heavenly wisdom to wait for the fullness of the time to come. To the mind of the Eternal Law-giver there has been no new feature

¹ *Works of JOHN ADAMS*. Vol. x., pp. 282-4.

introduced into the plan of salvation since time began. But the scheme is not at once disclosed. It is a sign of weakness when thoughts are expressed so soon as conceived. On the heavenly side every thing is prepared, but man's mind is an unwritten tablet. He is inexperienced, untaught, untried. He does not know in its measure what his need is, and what holiness is, as distinguished from untried innocency. Transgression must become heinous by the character of the penalties attached. Dependence on God must be learned by wanderings in the wilderness. Religious sentiments and methods of expression must be learned by a minute divine ceremonial. Men must come to worship God in the beauty of holiness by the attractive observances of the ancient temple service. When the consummate terminal flower is produced, we must not ignore that stem along which the sap and beauty were carried up for its adornment; for we only know how much that flower expresses by the knowledge of the grounds whence it sprung, and the blessing of the fragrance it sheds abroad in all the earth.

The legislator of the Christian era may learn a lesson from the divine Law-giver, who produces first a sentiment, and awakes a sense of need.

He quickens desire before supplying its object. "*Wilt* thou be made whole?" is the first step in the divine process. So in seeking to heal the impotence of society, following in the steps of Omniscience, government will effect first a wholesome sentiment on the part of the people. The first work must be wrought in *them*. They cannot be healed in spite of themselves. Until they feel the need of purification they cannot be cleansed. There can be no reform before they demand reform. Good government is not practicable until, on all sides, it is desirable. It represents not the *ideal*, but the *actual* sentiments of the people. While the government is for the people, it is still *by* the people. Like a Greek palimpsest, every law is underwritten with "*we the people*." King Saul, taking the best of every thing to himself, his officers and servants, and Barabbas the robber, were once the multitude's choice. Now and then a righteous law has been repealed or modified because the people were not ready for its enforcement. The masses are slowly affected. The inertia of the body-politic is like the inertia of matter: before a body can be brought to a given velocity, this velocity must be impressed upon every particle of matter it contains.

There are agitators in every community who cannot bide the time of ripened fruit, but by violent and irregular action would prematurely strip the laden boughs of a coming harvest, to cover only with windfalls the lap of expectant earth. The fruits of righteousness are not procured by accident, nor manufactured to order in a trice. Nature's law is first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Comprehensive statesmanship observes this law of growth. It sows the seed, and then patiently works and waits for the harvest. It seeks to inform the public mind. It brings the means of general intelligence within the reach of the lowest classes. It addresses itself, not to the enmity of an opposing faction, but to the understanding which it seeks withal to enlighten. It spares no pains to secure the observance of our public anniversaries, and to keep alive the patriotic sentiments of our fathers. It makes men so thoroughly believe in the nation that they will die for its preservation. It trains the youth to an intense love of country, recognizing the nation as greater even than the State. It detects in these times of financial distress and of mutual distrust, a tendency to forego considerations of sentiment for those of necessity. It is ingenious in devices to

attract attention to our noble institutions, which have grown so quietly and so beautifully great that we pass under their grateful shade, unmindful of their fair and time-honored proportions. It puts a patriotic and elevated literature into the hands of all its wards. It jealously guards the sabbath, and recognizes the helpfulness of the church. It seeks to engage in a *preventive* ministry, to anticipate and avert possible disasters. It loves to preserve and strengthen virtue as well as to reform vice. It will supplant institutions that are reformatory by those that are conservatory. Our Saviour had compassion on the multitude, and interposed a miracle, not to restore the already famished, but with tender thoughtfulness of the people He asserted His divine power *lest* they faint in the way. The love for the people which is Christ-like is of ready expedients for the work of prevention, as well as the work of redemption. The popular cry for retrenchment may induce a false economy. One may be too poor to be economical. Doors of industry will be closed only to make enlarged accommodations for vagrancy. It is not popular legislation which makes appropriations for what does not already exist,—only to forestall what may come to exist,—but it is wise legislation. The people must be

brought to *see* that of which the statesman already has *views*. Aiming at what is to be ultimately accomplished, he works first with secondary causes. He produces that which, in turn, will produce the result. He is a superintendent of growth. An election indicates only its stages of progress. A vote measures the man who casts it, as well as the man whose name it bears. One can be above bidding for votes, when, if he has a righteous cause, he can *grow* them; and nothing is more worthy of a citizen. "Voting," it is well said, "changes no opinions. It only records them." The election day might become, even politically considered, the least important day of the year, as the evening hour in which a dealer counts his gains is of less significance than the busy hours in which he earned them. "Republics abound in young civilians," says one of our own philosophers, "who believe that the laws make the city; that commerce, education, and religion may be voted in or out; but the wise know that the State must follow and not lead the character and progress of the citizen, and that the form of government which prevails is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it. The law is only a memorandum. The history of the State sketches in coarse outline

the progress of thought, and follows at a distance the delicacy of culture and of aspiration.”¹

III. Furthermore, we may reach the conclusion that every generation may obtain substantial claim upon the respect and veneration of its descendants. In the animal kingdom man alone is characterized by a continuous collective growth from one generation to another.² He alone cherishes veneration for antiquity. He alone can effect permanently by his thought and action all the individuals which compose the race which he represents. “Not only each man advances daily in the sciences,” says Pascal, “but all men unitedly make a never-ceasing progress in them; so that the whole succession of human beings during the course of so many ages ought to be considered as one identical man, who subsists always and learns without end.” In transmitting an inheritance enriched and defended by so many generations, in becoming the connecting link between such a history and such a manifest destiny, the guardians of our Commonwealth require alike the spirit of the true conservative and the spirit of the true reformer.

¹ *Essay on Politics*: EMERSON'S *Prose Works*, vol. i., p. 521-2.

² “Man reflects upon his reflection; thinks on his thoughts; makes the mind itself the subject of its inquiry.”—LIEBER'S *Polit. Eth.*, vol. i., p. 11.

The conservative renders secure all the things so dearly acquired. As a superintendent of growth, he possesses the requisite spirit of patience. He finds no other such instructive lesson in history as is learned from the abortive attempts which have always been making to anticipate growth. He knows the futility of immature procedure. To adopt a measure before its time is to kill the project, and to bring it into universal disfavor. With what emphasis do our annals speak of the folly of trying to incorporate a thing that does not exist, and supporting it with an influence which has not been acquired.

But, as well as the conservative, the age demands the work of the true reformer. Legislation, in an important sense, is a process of elimination. It grows by discontinuance.

The development of grander principles relieves the necessity of inferior laws, as emancipation abrogates all statutes pertaining to the relation of slaves. By comparing the early enactments of the colonies with the present statutes, we see how many laws are dispensed with, and petty requirements outgrown. Advancing civilization increases the number of persons in every community who have ceased to feel the restraints of government. They need no

longer to be bound by the ancient tether. Old forms are now outgrown; but that is a matter of the body, and not of the spirit. The body is constantly changing its expression, and this mortal shall put on immortality; but whatever the changes, still it is the old spirit. We cannot give up the *old*. We welcome with delight the *new*. Preserving in its purity the spirit, we will improve and beautify with every excellent adornment a temple for its indwelling.

When a temple was to be reared at Jerusalem, King David, a man of war, collected the materials out of which King Solomon, a man of peace, built the house.

The granite slabs from Sinai, inscribed with the ten commandments, lay within the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies. "There was nothing in the ark save these." While the sceptre of Aaron's priesthood is lost, God's law remains, and the house is filled with a cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled it. So, in rearing a political structure, the sons of royal fathers take up an unfinished task. The great buildings of God are not completed in one generation. Like magnificent cathedrals, they are eloquent with the story of toils and sacrifices in other ages than our own. Who shall

tell whence all the materials have been gathered! Who shall name the multitude of the builders who, with differences of administrations and diversities of gifts, have been actuated by the Self-same Spirit, the God of our fathers — who endureth forever! Who shall conceive the glory of the structure if the Holy One accepts and establishes the work of our hands because it has been but the intrenchment of the covenant which in love He has made with His people, and in the innermost place the sacredness of law is guarded, like the commandments, by the very cherubim of God!

The statesmen now assembled for the supplication of divine guidance and helpfulness are called of God to contribute something toward the upbuilding and inbuilding, the completion and adornment, of a temple that shall stand when they are gathered to their fathers.¹

The responsible work assigned to the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth falls into no unskilful nor untried hands. The Commonwealth congratulates herself to-day that the chair occupied by such

¹ "All members of parliament must die, but parliament dieth not. In short, '*the king never dies*,' means that the chancery does not die with the chancellor, the fleet with the admiral, the bank with the director, the city with the mayor, the people with their ruler." — LIEBER'S *Political Ethics*, vol. i., p. 294.

devotion to our interests, and by such conscientious and independent adherence to convictions of duty, is still held and adorned by one so honored in the state, beloved in the church, and respected in the community. May it please His Excellency the Governor to accept the most respectful salutations of Christian citizenship in view of his repeated call to the highest office in the gift of this people!

And may it please His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Honorable Council, to become the chosen favorites of God as well as of men, for they are ordained of God to be ministers to the people for good!

And may it please the Honorable Senators and the assembled Representatives of the people to become co-workers with the great Lawgiver, in making ordinances for the people; and in their arduous and oftentimes thankless service, may it be an inspiration that they are laborers together with God!





